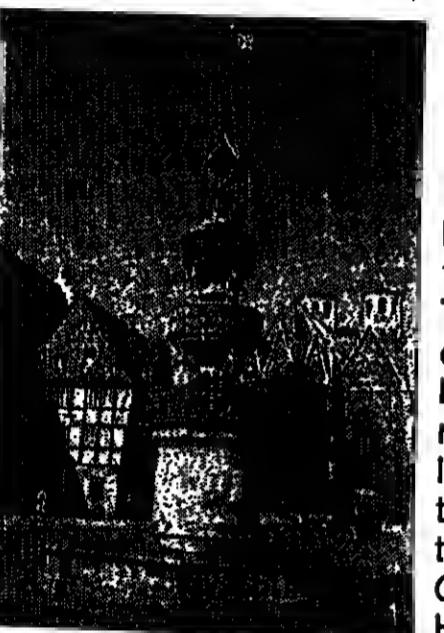


Routes to tour in Germany

The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen



The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Bon, 20 February 1983
Sixty-second year - No. 1073 - By air

Worried Germans hold key to Nato unity

In Bonn the sick man of the Atlantic alliance, weakened by exposure to radiation of President Reagan's and Defence Secretary Weinberger's rhetoric and stupefied by the drug of peace sold by Mr Andropov?

Will this be the year in which the cohesion of Nato is decided "in the Germans' minds," as Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner puts it?

This view seemed to predominate in minds of politicians, diplomats and military experts in Munich for the 20th Wehrkundetagung, or defence studies congress.

Egon Bahr, as a leading Social Democratic speaker, did little to dispel fears. Not surprisingly, the election campaign made its mark on the Munich meeting.

The issue at stake was, as ever, the future of the Atlantic alliance, which will be in the dark as long as no solution has been found to the current crisis.

There are too many points on which countries are either not clear or at odds. They include the outcome of the Geneva Euromissile talks and the credibility of Nato's flexible response strategy.

Can the nuclear threshold be lowered? Is the cash available for the strengthening of conventional armed forces that is needed?

In what circumstances might Europe fail to decouple from America and gain a greater right to a European say? Nato decisions consolidate the North Atlantic pact and make missile modernisation more palatable?

There were many answers to these questions, the last of which was posed Bundeswehr General Gerd Schmücker (red).

As in the past, there were clear differences of opinion between Germans and Americans. This state of affairs has changed little since the change of government in Bonn.

German worries are not just triggered by the US arms industry's protectionism. Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Minister, and Alois Mertes, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, made the same point from different sides.

Both are worried by the effect US behaviour may have on German public opinion.

Herr Strauss would like to see missile modernisation relieved of its dependence on the Geneva talks. He grandly dismissed the zero option as absurd even though Defence Minister Wörner and US speakers upheld it, least pro forma.

The CSU leader feels the German, which most people present felt was at stake, can be taken by storm. Mr Mertes is more cautious and usually more realistically.

He called on the Americans not to exacerbate German anxieties by

stepping up public discussion of worst conceivable cases.

Both men's worries sounded exaggerated inasmuch as the zero option has already been dropped from the Geneva conference agenda.

This was confirmed by no less an authority than the chief US negotiator, Paul Nitze. But specific US proposals requested by a number of conservative participants look like having to wait until after the German general election.

Much though the Americans might like to lend the CDU/CSU a helping hand, they are also worried proposals might be flogged to death in the election campaign, merely whetting the appetite for further concessions.

They felt able to infer from what Social Democrat Egon Bahr had to say that their fears were not entirely unfounded.

Herr Bahr is indeed a formidable one-man deterrent with his talent for ambiguous and indeterminate comments.

He said he had personal doubts whether what might emerge from the Geneva talks would be feasible, given the resistance to missile modernisation that might be expected.

He wondered whether the stability of the Federal Republic and Nato was not to be rated more highly than the introduction of a new weapons system.

This left US listeners wondering whether Herr Bahr had inwardly already parted company with the Nato dual-track resolution or merely sought, by painting threatening pictures of an alarming confrontation between Bonn and Washington, to persuade the United States to make further concessions.

Both options are equally unpleasant from the US point of view, but as he is opposed to an interim solution which would whatever happened mean partial missile modernisation, he must be assumed at least to be aiming at a postponement of the stationing deadline.

Herr Bahr may be too anxious in his view of the part of German public opinion that is opposed to missile modernisation.

But those who simply make the media out to be to blame for the Germans' nuclear worries take too easy a view of the position.

Americans in particular find it hard to appreciate that by flaunting worst case talk in a bid to get the US arms

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Kohl meets Afghans

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) meeting a group of Afghan resistance leaders in Strasbourg at the invitation of the European Assembly. Herr Kohl was in Strasbourg to address Euro-MPs.

(Photo: dpa)

Missile debate leaves voters mystified

The German general election campaign has breathed fresh life into the debate within the Western alliance on Washington's attitude to the Geneva arms control talks with Moscow.

The connection was indirectly confirmed by US Vice-President George Bush's tour of Europe.

Yet German election campaigners out on the hustings have created more confusion than clarity among voters with their missile talk.

Chancellor Kohl sees his salvation in retaining the so-called double zero option, the renunciation by both sides of all land-based medium-range missiles proposed by President Reagan at the behest of the old Bonn government.

Russia has so far rejected the idea out of hand, noting that Britain, France and China (and not just it and America) are nuclear powers.

So the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, feels the double zero option is unrealistic, and he is doubtless right.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Free Democratic leader, would not like to rule out an interim solution, as he puts it.

As Foreign Minister he is not yet in a position to declare President Reagan's proposal dead and buried, but at the

same time he well understands Moscow's rejection.

The SPD Shadow Chancellor, Hans-Joachim Vogel, bases his view on the Munich SPD conference resolution to review the situation at the end of the year in the light of progress at the Geneva talks.

Only then, he says, need consideration be given to stationing Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in West Germany, to whether and to what extent.

Herr Vogel says he can imagine a Bonn government led by him vetoing the stationing of new US missiles in Germany even if agreement is not reached at the Geneva talks.

He envisages this possibility if the blame for failure to reach agreement could be laid fairly and squarely on the United States for not being ready enough to compromise.

All four party leaders, Herr Kohl, Herr Strauss, Herr Genscher and Herr Vogel, face the problem that Nato governments have been incapable of getting across to a wider public the basic idea behind the December 1979 Nato dual-track resolution.

It is that if the West is to persuade the Soviet Union to negotiate any reduction in the number of SS-20 missiles the West has no choice but first to threaten to modernise its own medium-range missile potential.

President Reagan and Defence Secretary Weinberger have fuelled the fires of suspicion that what they had in mind was a fresh arms race.

Yet fundamentally the dual-track resolution seems to have been right. Moscow appears prepared to scrap some of its SS-20s if Washington agrees at the talks not to station Pershing 2s in Western Germany.

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Slow progress at Madrid annoys neutrals

Neutral countries have of late grown perceptibly more impatient with the course of the Helsinki review conference in Madrid.

Diplomats from Europe's neutral and non-aligned countries spent two days in conference in Berne at the beginning of February to discuss further moves.

They included traditional neutrals such as Austria, Switzerland and Sweden and non-aligned countries large and small.

The larger ones, by European standards, are Yugoslavia, Finland and Ireland. The small fry include Cyprus, Malta and Iceland.

All are keen to arrive at a common platform they can advocate to rank alongside those of Nato and the Warsaw Pact.

Their main concern is to be represented and to put the Madrid conference to good use in the interest of their non-aligned or neutral status.

This requirement is steadily less ful-

North-South report on common crisis

New political concepts are generally short-lived. Until recently the call for a New International Economic Order formed part of every international gathering.

It is now no longer mentioned, not even by the Brandt Commission. The high-flying plans outlined in its first report, *Strategy for Survival*, published in 1979, have founders on unrelenting reality. Differences in interest between the industrialised and developing countries have made agreement of any kind out of the question. The 1981 Canetón North-South summit failed to achieve results, as did the UN conference.

In its second report the Brandt Commission, chaired by SPD leader, former Bonn-Chancellor and Nobel peace laureate Willy Brandt, has taken the hint and made do with practical proposals for coping with the Common Crisis.

Up-to-date cures are not the answer to the collapse of the existing international economic order. The commission fears may occur, especially as the Third World has lost its spearhead now the Opec cartel has collapsed.

What now matters is to prevent financial collapse by many Third World countries and forestall their further pauperisation.

This is in the interest of the industrialised world, which would likewise suffer from a collapse of the international financial and trading system.

Banks in the industrialised countries have roughly \$640bn in outstanding loans to the Third World, that finance much of their export trade.

The Brandt Commission rightly criticises Washington for wanting to make Third World countries shrink back to health.

Not all of them are in trouble of their own making. They need more help from the World Bank and the IMF if they are to repay their debts and remain customers of the industrialised world.

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 February 1983)

the exchange of manoeuvre observers, were included in the Helsinki accords.

But they are mostly voluntary and in no way binding. Besides, the prior announcement of manoeuvres may be a confidence-building measure; it may also as in Poland's case, be an instrument of intimidation.

The Western countries would like to see a catalogue of measures agreed that make sense, are obligatory and verifiable.

Views still differ on the area they are to cover. The West insists on oil Europe; the Soviet Union on the inclusion of an unspecified but substantial area of the Atlantic and its air space.

In June 1981 the West said it was prepared to include adjacent maritime areas, in other words, coastal and adjacent waters, but only in respect of military movements that were subject to notification on land.

That would mean that Reforger exercises by the US forces would be notified, whereas US fleet movements in the Atlantic or US troop convoys bound for the Middle East or the Indian Ocean would not.

This distinction must surely indicate a Soviet bid to make a European disarmament conference serve purposes extending beyond Europe.

A European disarmament conference under the Helsinki aegis would inevitably be mixed up with the East-West conflict.

That is why the Western powers want the conference's terms of reference to be as detailed as possible on the area of trade unions and Helsinki groups, economic and cultural self-determination for all nations, freedom of belief and to end jamming of broadcasts to the Eastern Bloc.

The West is keen to incorporate more specific terms to protect the free activity of trade unions and Helsinki groups, economic and cultural self-determination for all nations, freedom of belief and to end jamming of broadcasts to the Eastern Bloc.

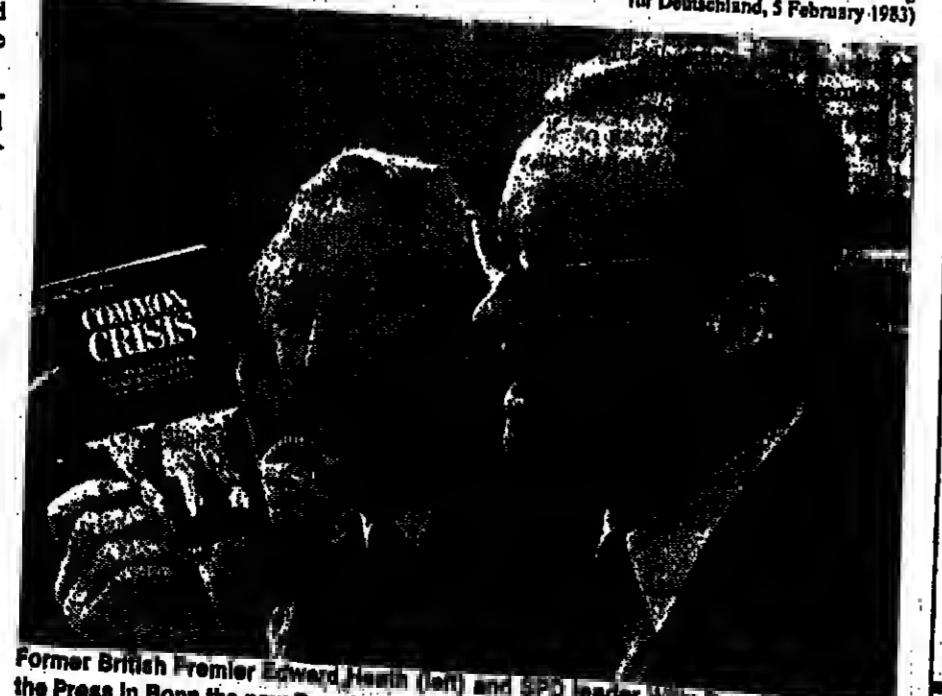
The now Soviet chief delegate, Mr Kovalev, bore the accusations levelled at Moscow by Western and neutral countries in connection with Soviet policies in Poland and Afghanistan and other breaches of the Helsinki Final Act with much greater equanimity than his easily upset predecessor, Mr Il'yichov.

This difference in temperament and tactics played its part in making the course of the autumn round of talks in Madrid less unruly.

The second major item on the Madrid agenda is drafting a mandate, or catalogue of topics to be discussed at a conference on disarmament in Europe.

That would be an aim on which the Soviet Union has been keen from the start, whereas the West and the neutral countries have from the outset shown no enthusiasm.

Günther Gilleßen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
for Deutschland, 5 February 1983)



Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath (left) and SPD leader Willy Brandt present to the press in Bonn the new Brandt Commission report, Common Crisis. (Photo: dpa)

Israel owns GENERAL ELECTION

to its sham spectre of a Red and Green of the blame majority haunts SPD

The findings and recommendations of the Israeli commission still show the Social Democrats into responsibility for the four to five per cent short of a majority in a two-party Bundestag (if CDU/CSU are counted as one).

Should Shadow Chancellor Hans-Joachim Vogel manage to convert the 42 or 43 per cent pollsters now give him into netto votes he would have achieved remarkable success.

But satisfaction within the party could soon turn into factionalism and disputes over whether or not to try and come to terms with the Greens.

Wasn't it Brandt who, after the Hesse election, spoke of a majority this side of the conservatives?

And is it not true that the further development of nuclear energy is a hotly disputed issue within the SPD camp?

Doesn't Egon Bahr call for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, not to mention Erhard Eppler and his theories?

The dispute with the SPD would be fierce. After all, the opponents of cooperation or a coalition with the Greens would also have valid arguments to put forward. Is it possible to govern with a majority you can never be sure of?

Have at least the minimum preconditions for cooperation been put on the line: recognition of the parliamentary rules of the game and renunciation of violence to both persons and property?

Hamburg and Hesse cannot be compared with Bonn. Hamburg's Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD) solved his

problem of having to rely on the Greens by gaining an absolute majority in a repeat election.

Hesse's Prime Minister Holger Börner, also SPD, will have no choice but to go to the polls again too though his chances of being ousted from government are slim. But ut

Another reason for trying to keep the Greens out of the Bundestag is that if the CDU and CSU fall short of the absolute majority and the FDP fails to return to the Bundestag and is replaced by Greens, the Social Democrats will be upswell on their own party unity.

It was a matter of Israel's shame and blame and moral responsibility of omission and commission, virtually criminal failure to imagine what would happen if Lebanese fighters, with a popularity rating of only 10 per cent and then went through the drama of being ousted from government.

In its struggle for survival the FDP seems to be living between hope and guilt for the bloodshed; Israeli

guilt as each successive opinion poll do the killing.

Israeli leaders have only the

to blame for the severely

world opinion has judged their

the blame.

The need to forestall such

was one reason put forward by

raids for their occupation of west

Israel was clearly interested in

the militias spread fear and

among the remaining Palestinians

encourage them to leave the Lebanon.

But that is not to say that any

able Israeli official approvingly

risk of massacres of this magnitude.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
for Deutschland, 5 February 1983)

The latest poll predicts that the FDP will not make it but that Helmut Kohl will continue to govern with an absolute majority.

Thus at least is the result arrived at in

by the Emden Institute, Bielefeld,

the Hamburg news magazine *Der Spiegel*.

Asked the traditional question as to

they would vote if elections were

the next Sunday, the answers were:

CDU/CSU 49 per cent;

SPD 42 per cent;

FDP 4 per cent;

Greens 5 per cent.

In terms of seats this would give the

CDU/CSU the absolute majority in the

Bundestag. Its results:

CDU/CSU 45.1 per cent;

SPD 44.4 per cent;

FDP 4.8 per cent;

Greens 5.2 per cent.

Only two days earlier, an Emden poll

gave the CDU/CSU 42 per cent, the

SPD 5 per cent, the Greens also 5 per cent.

This would put the FDP back in the

Bundestag, if it were not for the other

parties that see it differently.

least bargaining with the Greens has gained him time.

Herr Vogel would be in a much worse position. He would first have to himself elected Chancellor by the Bundestag and once installed he would be hard pressed to get any Bill enacted.

Moreover, constant vetoing by the CDU/CSU majority in the Bundestag would leave him little choice after six months or so but to go to the electorate and ask it to try again.

As a Chancellor who finally had to resign because the Greens played cat and mouse with him and the conservatives denied him any scope of action he would be in a highly untenable position.

Such prospects make it understandable that the SPD leadership is trying to prevent finding itself in a situation where it would have to struggle with both parts of its own party and the Greens.

This is why the Social Democrats keep repeating their forecast of a two-party Bundestag, hoping that wishing will make it so.

Brandt and Vogel pin more hopes on this coming true than on a formal declaration to the effect that a coalition with the Greens is out of the question for them.

For one, such a statement would weaken their own contention that the Greens stand no chance and, for another, they realise that steering clear of a coalition with the Greens would also have valid arguments to put forward. Is it possible to govern with a majority you can never be sure of?

Have at least the minimum preconditions for cooperation been put on the line: recognition of the parliamentary rules of the game and renunciation of violence to both persons and property?

Hamburg and Hesse cannot be compared with Bonn. Hamburg's Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD) solved his

problem of having to rely on the Greens by gaining an absolute majority in a repeat election.

Hans-Joachim Vogel, that the SPD might have to tolerate a CDU/CSU minority government and thus ensure at least a minimum of political influence show a certain amount of statesmanship but if said outright they would strip the campaign of all virtue.

Hans-Joachim Vogel, (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 February 1983)

CSU states its case

Bavaria's CSU was the last of the parties in the Bundestag to hold its campaign congress, a Franz Josef Strauss showcase.

Although he is Prime Minister of Bavaria, Herr Strauss has kept his options for Bonn wide open.

He told the meeting that the election could not be won with polemics alone and that clear issue-related arguments were needed.

Strauss' two-hour address to the 250 delegates was a masterpiece of oratory. He provided the campaigners with ample arguments for the election which, he said, would determine the nation's destiny until the year 2000.

Even if one does not wholly agree with the CSU leader's views on the deployment in Germany of the new generation of American Euromissiles, there can be no denying that his arguments are noteworthy.

Ho views the deployment decision as part of European-American partnership. As he puts it, if the Europeans in general and Germany in particular rejected a possible deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles they would not trigger an instant Soviet attack.

They would trigger a process of entanglement from the USA that would make Europe increasingly subject to blackmail by the Soviet Union. The USA would always be able to demand it against the USSR.

The CSU platform clearly shows the party's determination to emphasise more than hitherto its claim to being the true conservative force in the country, more so than its sister party, the CDU.

This is, of course, an act of self-assertion aimed at underscoring the CSU's position in the Bonn Cabinet.

The emphasis is put on more internal security, a tougher policy towards allons and a review of Bonn's development and policy that would provide assistance to Third World countries friendly to Germany.

An interesting point is the reaffirmation of the demand to hang on to the Interior Ministry should there be another coalition with the FDP.

The CSU naturally opposes the Free Democrats' bid for second votes. But apart from this, the Liberals were treated with moderation and the charges of co-responsibility for the nation's current woes have been all but dropped.

The impression is that Strauss no longer reckons with the FDP, concentrating instead on the SPD and its candidate Hans-Joachim Vogel. The target of the CSU's attack is, in fact, not so much the SPD as Vogel personally.

Franz Fegeler
(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 February 1983)

FDP fights from one poll

forecast to the next

Opinion researchers have been known to err, as in Hamburg where they predicted a neck-and-neck contest between SPD and CDU and were far off the mark. They could also be wrong on the general election.

Even so, all parties try to get guidance from the opinion polls just before an election. They use the results like drunkards holding on to a lamp post, not for the light but simply to have something to hang on to.

But the opinion researchers provide no dependable information. Polls (even those of the most well-established institutes) are only a snapshot of public opinion at that time.

Their margin of error (conceded by the institutes) is between one and two per cent and frequently more, as in the case of the Hamburg election.

This larger error usually occurs as the result of unpredictable events in the final phase of the campaign.

Survey results have become an indispensable instrument for campaign strategists who use them to manipulate voters, confuse political opponents and encourage their own ranks.

It is not surprising that institutes that sympathise with the SPD give the Free Democrats only three per cent, thus fortelling their end as a 'Bundestag party'.

Only with such information can the public see whether individual institutes have doctored their results for lack of concrete answers.

■ PEOPLE

Bonn Home Minister belies reputation

Friedrich Zimmermann as Interior Minister was arguably the greatest surprise to befall Bonn in the eventful autumn of 1982.

Could he pull it off? Had the Christian Democrats not, in giving him the job, laid an explosive charge in their coalition with the Free Democrats?

Had his appointment not presented opponents of the new coalition with what must have seemed a heaven-sent opportunity?

Was Dr Zimmermann not an even more attractive target for attack in the new government than Franz Josef Strauss, so long the whipping boy of German politics?

Herr Strauss had been the whipping boy for so long that more and more people had lost interest in both the whipping and the man himself.

Events took a different turn. The Free Democrats accepted the replacement of their own Gerhart Baum as Interior Minister by Dr Zimmermann of the CSU.

Right-wing and middle-of-the-road FDP leaders found the dismissal of Herr Baum by no means as inconvenient as they claimed.

FDP left-wingers were hopping mad but unable to gain the upper hand because the balance of power in the party had changed to their detriment.

The Social Democrats and their media supporters could hardly believe their eyes and ears as Dr Zimmermann, an opponent they could hardly have welcomed more in such a key post, studiously avoided giving offence.

It began with the new Interior Minister carrying on with his predecessor's environmental policies as though they were a matter of course.

In conventional home affairs, on the other hand, he exercised restraint, tell-



Friedrich Zimmermann
(Photo: Poly-Press)

ing people who asked him what policies he planned to pursue that he must first consider the facts.

After due consideration he would then be going ahead with what he felt was appropriate and feasible, he said. That gained him time.

No-one can say for sure whether Dr Zimmermann will retain the home affairs portfolio if the Christian Democrats are returned to power in the polls next month (always assuming a general election is held).

No-one can tell which way the voting will go, and if the conservatives retain power there is sure to be a Cabinet reshuffle.

Yet even if Dr Zimmermann's tenure of the Interior Ministry were to end in a few weeks' time he could look back on his performance with satisfaction.

He has stood the test of Cabinet off-

ice in Bonn. That in itself is nothing new; he has so far passed every political test and successfully taken up every challenge in his career.

As general secretary of the Christian Social Union, the CDU's Bavarian ally, he transformed a loosely-knit group of politically-motivated people into an effective political party.

As chairman of the Bundestag defence committee he was an authority respected by political adversaries and military experts alike.

As leader of the CSU in the Bonn Bundestag he was an energetic and level-headed floor leader.

On the crisis staff set up to handle the abduction of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the Cologne employers' leader, by urban guerrillas in autumn 1977 he was noted for his sang-froid and the precision of his thinking.

At the helm of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag he and Herr Kohl, the CSU leader, ensured there was a constant balance between the two parties.

These achievements testified to a keen intelligence, to uncommon political instinct and to a desire for power Dr Zimmermann has never denied.

But the secret of his success is his self-control. He never lets himself go. Even in a small and intimate group he is never tempted to say anything he does not intend to say.

He may dislike others on his side of the political fence but he manages to prevent personal dislikes from coming to a head for years, if not decades.

This tends to make a man of upper middle-class Munich stock seem untypical of a Bavarian to some. He certainly conveys an impression of being a cool customer.

In many respects Friedrich Zimmermann is the exact opposite of Franz Josef Strauss, but then was the only way he was able to emerge as Herr Strauss's foremost political associate and retain his influence.

They include Hans-Joachim SPD Shadow Chancellor, and Vogel, the CDU Premier of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Richard von Weizsäcker, the Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, mayor of Berlin, and Carl Friederich Weizsäcker, the philosopher, are prominent Free Democratic friends and political for several pairs of brothers in Germany.

But the Commission as a whole deleted this passage from the memorandum. This was probably prompted by the



Frank Dahrendorf
(Photo: AP)

SPDヴogel campaign manager

Social Democrat Frank Dahrendorf and his brother Ralf Dahrendorf, the prominent Free Democratic politician and political for several pairs of brothers in Germany.

They include Hans-Joachim SPD Shadow Chancellor, and Vogel, the CDU Premier of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Richard von Weizsäcker, the Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, says in this interview with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* why he favours early retirement and plans to bring staff back into company investment schemes.

They all go to show that politics in the Federal Republic of Germany are not dominated by party rivalries as to their fathers.

Question: The worst unemployment since the 1950s has generated pressure to redistribute work. As a result, political discussion now revolves around shorter working times as a remedy.

Frank Dahrendorf, the organiser of Hans-Joachim SPD election campaign, feels strongly about his contribution to making political life.

He and his brother owe their origins to their father, an SPD member and leader of the workers' movement who died in 1954.

Their father was sentenced to 10 years in prison for his resistance to the Nazi regime in the aftermath of World War II, anybody who thinks that the unemployment problem can be solved through shorter working times is wrong.

Brother Ralf, a sociology professor at LSE in London and a rising star of the Free Democrats, was a Socialist before switching allegiance to the FDP.

Frank and Ralf agree that the new emergency programme has drafted the course, and we are more and more signs that things are picking up.

Demands for shorter working times and the employers' demand for improvements to stimulate investment are not mutually exclusive.

On the contrary, what we need now is for the trade unions, the employers and the state to get together at the bargaining table and agree on the right measures. I therefore support Chancellor Schmidt's initiative to bring this about in an effort to tackle the nation's unemployment problem.

He has rented an apartment in Bonn, near Bonn, for the winter and says it is supposed to be a 35-hour week.

The German Trade Union Federation is committed to fighting unemployment through a shorter work week. This is as this would have the greatest effect on the labour market.

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Continued on page 8.

LABOUR

Bonn steps up the war on unemployment during German term in EEC chair

Frankfurter Rundschau

fact that EEC heads of government, who met in Copenhagen late last November, had decided that the Council of Ministers should assess the effects of new working time regulations without taking any action.

The European Trade Union Federation has been dealing with the problem of a better distribution of existing work since 1978, long before the tide of unemployment hit Germany in 1981.

But since the unions demand that working times be shortened on full pay the move has consistently been opposed by Common Market employers.

Either competitiveness would suffer and thus endanger existing jobs in the long run, or the companies concerned would be forced to rationalise, and this would again mean fewer jobs.

Shorter working times for proportionately less pay could create additional jobs if it made the company concerned more competitive and if it had no problems finding buyers for its goods or services.

But since shorter working times would result in higher productivity the need for additional staff would be limited.

One of the main union arguments against pay cuts in return for shorter working times, the reduced buying power of the work force and hence dwindling demand for consumer goods and services, has been rebutted in the memorandum.

The rebuttal is based on various projections made in a number of EEC countries that show shorter working times for less money would also mean less stoppages in the form of tax and social security contributions.

This would mean the take-home pay would decline less than gross pay.

The result would be a drop in public sector and social security revenues because the number of new jobs thus created would not rise correspondingly and so relieve public coffers of the expense of maintaining the jobless.

These reasons led to the decision to delete the passage recommended by Ivor Richard.

The conclusion reached by the Commission is that only a drastic cutback in working times throughout the Community and in one fell swoop would result in a reduction of unemployment.

In other words, the cutback in working times must be so heavy and sudden as to prevent industry from making up for it through higher productivity and rationalisation.

This, too, has its pitfalls. The Commission itself concedes that a shortening of the working day from eight to six hours or a correspondingly shorter working week or year could only be implemented if handled flexibly.

As the Commission sees it, the wor-

Continued on page 6

How less work can mean more jobs — Blüm



Günter Döding is one of the most imaginative unionists.

The financing cannot be arranged without the unions and the employers. One of the possible models is for younger workers to forgo part of their wage increase to finance the early retirement of the older ones who are prepared to leave their jobs for younger people.

Two points are obvious. Shorter working times must not be at the expense of the social security pensions funds; and any arrangement that is arrived at must ensure that premature retirement is voluntary.

Q1 After the general election the government wants to promote legislation for workers' participation in the nation's productive capital.

This is to ensure social symmetry in times of rising industrial incomes and at the same time boost investments.

But there is no overlooking the pitfalls in view of the opposition by both labour and management. How do you intend to cut this Gordian knot?

A1 I'm not as pessimistic as you are. My impression is that the unions are beginning to realise that the policy of mere nominal wage hikes has reached its limit.

I don't think there's any knot for me to cut. The knot will untie itself of its own accord. The capital accumulation law we intend to pass in the next legislative period will promote this development.

After all, industry's liquid assets are not something that concerns business only. They equally concern the work force and the trade unions.

The more liquid funds a company has, the sounder it is commercially and the safer the jobs. Investments should not only serve rationalisation; they should also serve to make a better product.

Günter Kiefer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 5 February 1983)

New Premier faces tough task in Kiel

gratulations on the day he took over from Professor Stoltenberg.

Most state Premiers now to the job have been able to gain experience in their own good time. But this time it was different.

It was not a mid-term change planned well in advance but an unexpected transition with six months to go to general elections.

What was more, it took place in Kiel at a time when the overall political climate in Bonn was in a state of flux. So the twofold election campaign looked like being a tough proposition for all concerned.

Last but not least, unemployment took a turn for the worse last autumn, and Schleswig-Holstein, being somewhat off the beaten track in the far north of Germany, seemed sure to be harder hit than other parts of the country.

Barschel's policy was one of continuity combined with new accents, but it came in for stiff opposition from the start.

With an election campaign in the offing, gestures of goodwill on the Opposition's part were virtually limited to con-

We Barschel has been state Premier in Kiel since 14 October 1982, when Gernhard Stoltenberg left to serve as Finance Minister in Bonn.

But he has been unable to rely on the 100 days' grace normally given because state assembly elections were due to be held this March.

With an election campaign in the offing, gestures of goodwill on the Opposition's part were virtually limited to con-

tinued on page 8.

Continued on page 8.</

■ ECONOMY

Hopes of improvement but 2.5m out of work



Latest economic indicators are too conflicting to permit a clear forecast. Even so, further deterioration on the labour market and the clear rise in demand as reflected in industry's order books do not come as a surprise.

Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm (CDU) has termed the latest jobless figure of 2.5 million a disaster. Criticism of rising unemployment is justified though there is now more hope of a gradual improvement in the economic position.

But only campaigning politicians seem to be able to distil a forecast from the available bundle of indicators.

In its latest annual economic report released a couple of weeks ago, Bonn speaks of noticeable progress and Chancellor Helmut Kohl recently referred to unmistakable initial successes of his government's new fiscal and economic policy. Ha spoke of justifiable optimism.

Though the Labour Minister termed the joblessness a disaster that called for solidarity with those afflicted by it, he also called on the nation to have faith in the new government whose programme would bring about an upturn.

The SPD Opposition, on the other hand, maintains that the change of government has exacerbated the crisis, saying that a further decline will be inevitable without economic booster measures to be financed by deficit spending.

The overall picture is confusing. Yet our economic and fiscal policy makers still have to assess the further course of the economy based on conflicting indicators and take action accordingly.

Despite unemployment that is likely to deteriorate still further by election time in March, Bonn holds that there is no need for additional measures such as a medium term employment programme as called for by the Social Democrats.

Optimism in forecasting further developments would seem in order now if

the present government has termed the SPD demand harmful actionism.

The annual economic report, expressly presented as a fiscal and social government programme for the centre-right coalition expected to continue after the elections, justifies the government's stance, saying that change for the better has been ushered in.

It is true that conditions for an upturn have been improved, some of this improvement having come from the previous government.

The fact is that billions have been put aside for housing construction and that business in this sector has improved in an amazingly short time.

But the indicators show that this has not yet generated new jobs. There is much to indicate that business has picked up but that ultimate success will take its time.

Its failure to materialise immediately must therefore not be held against the government's programme.

The vaunted positive signs are not necessarily harbingers of an upturn. But they should not be ignored either. The competitiveness of German industry on world markets improved considerably in 1982.

Washington and Tokyo expect world trade to expand and thus usually benefits Germany's export-oriented industry.

Moreover, Germany's success in fighting inflation has given the Bundesbank more scope for interest rate reductions which in turn must boost business.

Polls among business executives show a growing optimism, quite apart from the fact that the order books are beginning to swell again after a three-year decline.

Preliminary evaluations of the indicators show that the usual surge in orders towards the end of the year has this time not been followed by a slump in January.

Optimism in forecasting further developments would seem in order now if

Continued from page 5

workers would not easily adjust to a sudden and major change in their way of life. But on the other hand, only a drastic across-the-board shortening of working times would lead to solidarity with the jobless.

Another model put forward in the memorandum is more questionable.

This model suggests that industry replace its present eight-hour working day by two shifts of six hours and thus make better use of its production facilities.

Since much of the Community's industry is already operating below capacity, for lack of demand, it would seem illusory to hope that the same industry could work profitably for 12 hours a day instead of the present eight.

Even if the work force were to agree to less pay and forfeit 25 per cent of its gross wages, it is questionable whether the net unit price of the employer's product would drop correspondingly and whether he would find a ready market for it.

An interesting aspect here is that the

this was matched by confidence that the current economic and fiscal policy would be continued.

Unfortunately, the campaign is accompanied by mudslinging and allegations that the Social Democrats want to introduce more government controls for business.

The counter-argument is that the CDU is redistributing wealth from the have-nots to the haves, making for insecurity, thus retarding the upswing.

Frank J. Eichhorn
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 February 1983)

World trade down again, experts say

World trade will continue to decline in the first half of this year. But growth impulses are likely to gain the upper hand around the middle of the year, forecasts the HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg.

The world trade volume for 1983 will be somewhat lower than in 1982, marking for the fourth year of stagnation.

Between 1960 and 1973 world trade grew at an annual rate of eight per cent.

Due to the critical situation of oil and raw materials exporting countries, any change for the better will have to come from the industrial world, says HWWA.

The first impulses are likely to materialise in the next few months in the USA because America's imports are likely to pick up due to the high dollar exchange rate and the gradual rise in domestic demand.

The rise of imports in the other industrial countries will be somewhat slower due to generally weak demand.

But things are likely to improve in the second half of the year.

One of the worst bugbears for world trade is the high foreign debt of many countries. The Hamburg economists hold that the necessary consolidation measures will lead to further import restrictions, especially in the oil importing developing countries.

This will be more pronounced the longer raw materials earnings remain low due to the recession in the industrial world.

To make matters worse, unemployment everywhere still calls for protectionist measures.

Many of this country's foreigners are so hard hit by the world slump as to be almost unable to money for imports.

To make matters worse, unemployment everywhere still calls for protectionist measures.

But protectionist measures are the only threat to Germany's place in the world's champion export competition.

Industry must step up its efforts in Germany to retain its champion status by improving and new products.

Those who are caught napping have to opt out of the market monitored by Germany's photo.

By the same token, those who are imaginative will stand their ground against the competition, as demanded by the German auto industry.

Even so, the memorandum has provided the trade unions and the employers with a basis for discussion.

In view of the 11.5 million jobless in the Community they should get on with it with the objective of arriving at concrete decisions.

National attempts at solving the problems are likely to founder on the disadvantages they would entail in competing in the Common Market.

Another set of guidelines for temporary work is now ready to be presented.

It remains to be seen whether the German chairmanship of the Council of Ministers will succeed in bringing preliminary moves to fruition.

Richard D. Erich Hauser
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 February 1983)

German go... AGRICULTURE

Farmers start to feel the pinch

Official foreign trade statistics prove the carefully nurtured contention that German business is competitive on international markets.

1982, statistics show, was a year for Germany's export-nutritious imports by DM.

The 1981 balance of trade in favour was thus almost

last year, primarily because growth rates in double figures are clear exports outstripped the growth.

For the first time in three years, Germany's exports were sufficient to cover the nation's balance of paid goods worth DM22bn last year, (which include transfers) up 10 per cent on 1981, when growth even created a surplus.

The contention frequently made that the 4.2 per cent rise in the 1982 tonnage sold (1981: 9.3 per cent) to a total living beyond their means has DM13.3bn (20.4) was largely due to disproved along with the cuts, says CMA's Claus Böcking.

that German suppliers find it so, this growth outstripped the und harder to compete on the world market.

The opposite is true. German farmers have become the envy of the high exchange rate of the deutschemark, which has gained 8.5 per cent.

The flood of exports from Germany has turned into an embargos for industries abroad where it is declining.

Since 1957, when the European Economic Community was launched, Germany

This has led to calls for imports against the successful goods, and that includes other market countries.

Prudish Germany's may be of last year's exports, but figures should not fully reflect the sense of security for the future.

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developing countries.

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A prominent source of farm incomes comes from livestock.

More than 50 per cent of German food imports come from other EEC countries. German exports to other Common Market members rose 7.3 per cent to DM13.9bn, an above-average growth rate.

Growth was most pronounced in exports to Italy where sales amounted to DM4.7bn, up 17.6 per cent against the previous year.

The 7.7 per cent rise in farm incomes per working family member in 1981/82 was not enough to offset the 12.6 per cent drop the previous year.

The German Farmers Association says farmers still have to make up for lost ground. Its forecast does not tally with Agriculture Ministry projections.

The association's figure is only about three per cent.

On presenting the report, Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl told the Press that although industrial wages in 1981/82 had risen only 3.8 per cent, industrial workers earned on average of DM32,176 per annum, considerably more than the average farm income.

But agriculture experts say that comparisons of this nature prove little.

Incomes per farm rose by an average 5.9 per cent to DM28,587 in 1981/82. Over the past decade, incomes per family member working the farm rose by an annual average of 3.7 per cent and per farm by 4.2 per cent.

Incomes from part-time farming rose at roughly the same rate as those on full-time farms: up 5.5 per cent to DM16,615, making for a total family income of DM34,520.

Part-time farmers' incomes in 1981/82 were determined by rising farm and non-farm incomes in 1981/82, making for an average per family income of DM36,268, up 6.1 per cent.

Generally, farms in the north did better than in the south. While farms cultivating the same crops every year saw their profits up 49.2 per cent and processing operations showed a plus of 31.8 per cent, those growing feed crops showed only a slight rise of 3.2 per cent.

Fruit growers for the market showed lower incomes for the third year in a row (minus 4.6 per cent).

Helke Braun
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 4 February 1983)

Farm incomes up again

Farm earnings were up 7.7 per cent in 1981/82 and are expected to have equalled this performance in the 1982/83 agricultural year, says the Ministry of Agriculture in Bonn. The increase will thus far outstrip the national average.

The positive forecast is largely due to the generally good harvest in 1982. The yield of wheat, fruit, vegetables and wine was markedly higher than in the previous year and there were record harvests for some crops.

Farmers' animal food harvests were also good, enabling them to stock up on winter feed. The harvests of sugar beet and potatoes were poorer than in the previous year.

Exports at the Bonn Agriculture Ministry expect producer prices in 1982/83 to be roughly the same as the year before.

Though prices for fruit, wine, vegetables, potatoes, and sugar beet could drop, this would be offset by higher prices for milk, livestock and grain, which are the most important products of full-time farmers.

Farmers' costs are likely to go up three per cent in 1982/83. But there is unlikely to be much change in the quantities required.

It is also unlikely that farmers will have to buy more additional animal feed than last year after such good harvests.

The 7.7 per cent rise in farm incomes per working family member in 1981/82 was not enough to offset the 12.6 per cent drop the previous year.

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Hans-Jürgen Mahnke
(Die Welt, 3 February 1983)

■ NATO

No First Use calls for a more effective conventional Western deterrent

Nato has changed its military strategy from time to time over the years, but on one point defence policy-makers have not changed their minds.

There is still the threat of a conventional military attack on the North Atlantic pact developing into a nuclear clash as a result of Nato's deterrent strategy.

For over 30 years this strategy has ensured that despite enormous arms build-ups there has never been a military clash between the two blocs.

But there are growing fears in the West that this nuclear threat could, if the situation arose, lead to nuclear suicide by the countries concerned.

A group of US and European experts has published in several Western capitals a report calling on the United States to renounce first use of nuclear weapons.

The Union of Concerned Scientists includes former US Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara, Kennedy's security adviser George F. Kennan and Britain's Field-Marshal Lord Carver.

They agree that the United States could not make any such declaration until after thorough preparation and deliberate strengthening of its conventional forces and those of the Western alliance.

But it would then in no way jeopardise the security of the United States and its allies. Indeed, it would considerably heighten it.

The starting point for their deliberations is the fear that Nato strategy, which is currently strongly based on the nuclear deterrent, might in some future crisis be obliged actually to resort to the nuclear option and trigger an atomic apocalypse.

So the alliance's aim must be to limit the nuclear deterrent to that of deterring a nuclear attack by the other side, whereas conventional attacks must be deterred by corresponding conventional capacity.

In the past the Nato countries have rejected the Soviet offer of a reciprocal renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons.

Their argument is that the Warsaw Pact states' superiority in the conventional sector was so substantial that in the long run Nato could only resist it by means of nuclear weapons.

But the concerned scientists' report, outlined in Bonn by McGeorge Bundy, disputes the existence of such a substantial superiority on the Warsaw Pact's part.

It is said by no means to be so great as to ensure success in the event of an attack on Nato, certainly not if the Nato countries were swift to react.

The ratio is estimated to be between 1 to 1.5 and 1 to 1.7, whereas for defence purposes a ratio of two to one is sufficient.

Besides, Nato is far superior technologically, and in times of crisis the Warsaw Pact bears the burden of internal tension.

Western conventional deterrent capacity could and should be improved

at relatively modest expense: \$100bn, or a real annual growth rate of roughly two per cent in military expenditure.

That would be enough to ensure both a credible deterrent and successful defence.

The emphasis must be on fortifications and obstacles along the border with the Warsaw Pact, on more underground hangars for aircraft and on an increase in supplies of ammunition and equipment.

This increase would be the most expensive improvement, being intended to ensure that Nato was able to wage conventional war for 30 days, as against the current fifteen.

The mobility of Nato forces is also to be improved, with equipment being laid on and at the ready for additional US forces in Europe.

Assuming the deterrent were to fail to deter, that could lead to the West soon facing the decision whether to resort to nuclear weapons or not.

The 17 authors of the report conclude that it would be unrealistic to bank on sound and adequate conventional defences as long as one retained any idea of escalating conflict to the nuclear level.

They are also expected to improve cohesion within Nato, given that current strategy leads to tension and doubts among the Western allies.

A new strategy based on renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons naturally encounters strong misgivings in Nato.

There can be no denying that the existing deterrent strategy has prevented not only a nuclear clash between the superpowers but also a direct conventional conflict between them.

The threshold beyond which conflicts might be escalated to the stage of military confrontation would undoubtedly be lowered if the risk of nuclear weapons being used no longer applied.

Despite the appalling nature of conventional warfare today its consequences are more calculable than those of a nuclear clash.

It must naturally be borne in mind that in view of the frightful consequences

Vogel's campaign manager

Continued from page 4

apartment, but doesn't spend much time there.

Yet Dahrendorf is not the type to call in the camp, bed Hans-Jochen Vogel is said to have in his office, and he has been known to remind Herr Vogel that his services are provided voluntarily.

The two men made each other's acquaintance when Dahrendorf was Justice Senator in Hamburg and Vogel Justiceman in Bonn.

In 1981 Herr Vogel appointed him Home Affairs Senator in Berlin when he was mayor of the divided city.

Dahrendorf had spent eight years as a state councillor, a kind of state secretary, in Hamburg, six at the home affairs department and two at the education department.

The latter, he ironically recalls, was a punishment posting to which he was transferred by Hamburg burgomaster Hans-Ulrich Klose.

case of using nuclear weapons Nato would first try to limit hostilities in the conventional level.

So why, or so advocates of the nuclear deterrent argue, should the West dispense with the additional threat?

The report claims that doubts whether Nato would in fact go ahead with what amounted to a suicidal first strike undermine the credibility of its nuclear deterrent.

This is surely an argument that carries weight, although in view of the catastrophe a nuclear war would entail even a slight possibility of conventional warfare leading to nuclear hostilities would retain a powerful deterrent effect.

The report also notes that there is an inclination within Nato to rely on the nuclear deterrent and to neglect the conventional efforts that need putting in.

Assuming the deterrent were to fail to deter, that could lead to the West soon facing the decision whether to resort to nuclear weapons or not.

The 17 authors of the report conclude that it would be unrealistic to bank on sound and adequate conventional defences as long as one retained any idea of escalating conflict to the nuclear level.

In other words, politicians and military men are not going to do what needs to be done to ensure there is an adequate conventional deterrent capacity until the first use of nuclear weapons has been renounced.

A moot question is whether Nato is in a position to boost its conventional defence capacity sufficiently to rule out military clashes in the event of a crisis.

The West's geographical position is definitely less favourable, especially if it is assumed that a conflict will last any length of time.

The report does not gloss over the problems. It outlines them seriously and without the slightest trace of polemics.

The authors of the report are un-

doubtedly right in noting, in word, that nuclear war is an extension of war to a higher violence but an entirely new one.

No matter how much conventional war can cause it, human beings and structures with which mankind can regenerate.

Total nuclear war, on the other hand, would destroy the people, the land, cultures of the nations and damage the rest of the planet unforeseeable but dangerous.

Thomas Stützle, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

Interest shown by potential users of the Bundespost's videotex service, advised when Bonn Posts and Telecommunications Minister Christian Schwarz-Schillings announced details of the rates he is in charge.

Users of the experimental service said they were going on strike in protest and indeed shut down their programmes for a while.

At the present experimental stage the videotex service, or *Bildschirmtext* as it is known in Germany, is available virtually free of charge.

It can be tried out by leading firms in various sectors, by associations, institutions, individuals and small businesses.

The first use of nuclear weapons at least the first use option, key feature of Nato's flexible strategy for over 30 years.

The dangerous nature of this doctrine, which they call a form of suicide, has prompted the authors of the report.

Bundespost computers are virtually limited in the capacity they have at their disposal.

They call for renunciation of the telephone network access to computer facilities is gained by means of an adapter fitted to any standard colour set.

Information is flashed pagewise on to the subscriber's TV screen once he has called for it by telephone.

One customer advertises electronic components. A group in Berlin keeps in regular electronic touch via the letterbox facility, which is similar in effect to CB radio.

A wheelchair-bound old-age pensioner uses the service for welfare purposes. She relays via the TV screen every hint for the handicapped by the handicapped.

Such small-scale videotex users as these are now worried they will no longer be able to afford the facility once the costs start to spiral.

Third, No First Use has been available experimentally for three years in Düsseldorf and Berlin.

Starting with the Berlin Radio Show that presupposes the existence of a conventional balance of power, it will be extended all over the country.

By the end of the year it will be available in Krefeld, Aachen, Frankfurt, Mainz, Saarbrücken, Hamburg, Stuttgart and Mannheim.

If the Geneva talks were to break down and the West were to be unable to reach an agreement, the Bundespost has clear ideas on the number of subscribers it is expecting to have.

There should be 150,000 by the end of 1984, 400,000 by the end of 1985 and 1 million by the end of 1986. The Bundespost is to invest DM500m in the new medium.

Adalbert Rohloff of the Berlin chamber of commerce and industry says as spokesman for commercial users of the videotex service it is useful for the Bundespost to announce details of the fees it intends to charge.

"Sensible charges will restore order to the *Bildschirmtext* system," he feels. "When you have to pay for the system you are going to take your programme

MEDIA

Videotex is to go nationwide after three years of trials

seriously and not just look on it as a technical plaything."

The fees now announced, he says, are more in keeping with the market and the costs than the charges the Post Office originally planned.

But they are confusing enough. Subscribers will pay DM9 par monat. The fee for computer storage per page of information will be 7.5 pfennigs per day nationwide and 1.5 pfennigs per region.

The fee for transmission of information (electronic letterbox facility), as opposed to merely retrieving and relaying it, will be 40 pfennigs per page.

Installation will cost DM55. Regional users will pay a monthly rental of DM50, nationwide users possibly DM350.

Yet Herr Rohloff is not entirely satisfied. He and commercial users feel the Bundespost has no justification for charging the full nationwide fee in 1984 and 1985.

During the transitional period the service will not be fully available all over the country.

The last word, he says, cannot yet have been spoken on charges during the difficult transitional period.

The scientific advisory panel in North-Rhine-Westphalia also deals with the fees problem in its short report. The panel feels charges ought not to benefit large companies and major users.

The system, the charges and the legal provisions must ensure equality of opportunity as a matter of principle for all parties interested in using the facility.

The panel has since 1978 probed not only the repercussions of the new medium on the media but also the social, cultural and economic consequences.

They are worried that the services provided by non-profit users will stand no chance of holding their own against powerful commercial competition.

This prospect so worries them that they recommend subsidies in such circumstances.

As a general rule and contribution to

families plan to retain the service. Similar findings have been reached in Düsseldorf.

These research findings are to be used by the Land Prime Ministers and state assemblies when they draw up videotex regulations.

They will be due to do so as soon as the experimental phase, including nationwide trials, has come to an end.

It will be the first time standards have been drawn up for a new medium in Germany. Land Prime Ministers have already agreed in principle to a uniform Videotex Act.

Their aim is to make do with as few regulations as possible but as many as are necessary.

Everyone, for instance, will be entitled to use the service. In Düsseldorf and Berlin a permit has first had to be applied for.

The draft even deals with opinion polls via videotex. They are to be banned on issues under consideration by the Bundestag, state assemblies or local councils.

For six weeks before elections there will be a ban on relaying via videotex the findings of videotex opinion polls.

The maximum fine that can be imposed for this and other breaches of the videotex code is to be increased from DM10,000 to DM50,000.

Users are now keen to see the Videotex Bill ratified without delay by the state assemblies. There are no reasons why the system should not be introduced, they announced before a meeting of Land Prime Ministers in Bonn.

"The Act takes all known problems into account. Users plan to make their contribution toward a service in accordance with the law and in the subscribers' interest by means of self-control.

"The service most frequently consulted is the news. Videotex does not disturb family life and subscribers are not distracted from other leisure activities.

Brigitte Kummerer-Jörges, who has been following the progress of videotex in Berlin, says subscriber interest is relatively stable, as is the interest shown by commercial users.

Nearly 90 per cent users plan to continue using the system from next autumn when it starts to go nationwide and to charge more than nominal fees.

In the overwhelming majority of Berlin households with a videotex adapter

Continued from page 1

Europe. What course may events take between the general election and the year's end? Regardless who is Chancellor in Bonn, the German leader must urge the superpowers to come to terms by autumn.

Provided Moscow feels Bonn and other Nato governments are likely to abide by the dual-track resolution and Washington does not entirely abandon common sense a compromise ought to be conceivable.

The Russians might, for instance, scrap some of their missiles while retaining some aimed at targets in Western Europe and others aimed at targets in Asia.

The Americans would station a limited number of Cruise missiles, and maybe a few Pershing 2s, in Europe.

As each Soviet SS-20 system has three warheads and US missiles have only one each, a tacit acknowledgement of the British and French nuclear deterrent might be conceivable.

No Bonn government could possibly reject US armaments based in Germany with Soviet consent without prompting a serious Nato crisis.

That is why campaign talk is misleading.

Erich Hauser-

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 February 1983)

Continued from page 4

heavily endorsed by the trade unions for once.

Seldom have the unions been so kindly disposed toward economic and labour market policy measures undertaken by a CDU government.

Even so, Dr Barschel's first 100 days have been for the most part a testing period in economic and financial policy.

His new accents also include greater consideration for the interests of the Danish minority even though the SSW, the Danish minority's political party, is likely to remain pro-SPD.

But Dr Barschel has preferred to make a gesture to promote peace and quiet in a sector where sensitivities are easily aroused.

His entire policy has been designed with more than election day in mind. His plans for media policy, for instance, will not come into their own until the new state assembly is in session.

In political continuity he has another point in common with his predecessor, Gerhard Stoltenberg. To retain power he must make sure of an absolute majority for the CDU.

Like Professor Stoltenberg on past occasions he can set aside any hopes of forming (and heading) a coalition government in the state.

Jost Springenaguth

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 January 1983)

ENVIRONMENT

Seaweed converts sewage into fertiliser, power

Kiel marine botanists report remarkable success in using Baltic algae to purify and re-activate sewage. It is a case of the mighty microbe, or arguably the *Heinzelmännchen*, Cologne's handy little helpers and German cousins of the leprechauns.

The algae have been harnessed to purify effluent and generate biomass for use as either fertiliser or energy. Above all they process phosphates and nitrous compounds that other processes fail to extract from the sewage.

Winfried Schramm and Werner Lehnerberg of the marine botany department at Kiel University set out to see the extent to which algae could be systematically used to recycle organic nutrients, other purification techniques failed to extract from effluent.

They mixed sea water and sewage and gave the mixture a shot of Baltic green algae, which are remarkably adaptable to variations in salt content.

The algae flourished in the mixture, using up in a relatively short time (it depended on the temperature) the vegetative nutrients nitrogen and phosphates that were not eliminated in prior purification.

The algae output from the sewage tanks can be used either as agricultural fertiliser or converted into biogas by means of bacteria.

Sewage is seldom colder than about 10 degrees centigrade, so it heats the

sewage ponds to a temperature ideally suited as a working climate for the bacteria.

The methane generated could be used to power heat pumps to heat the fermentation tanks and further boost the methane output.

What the Kiel marine botanists are doing in controlled conditions in their experimental tanks is a process that is a problem in many waters that are saturated in vegetable nutrient.

But if the process can be harnessed in artificial sewage ponds or marine shallows it may prove a twofold winner.

For one it will purify sewage and reduce pollution of the open sea that has reached alarming proportions in many parts of the Baltic.

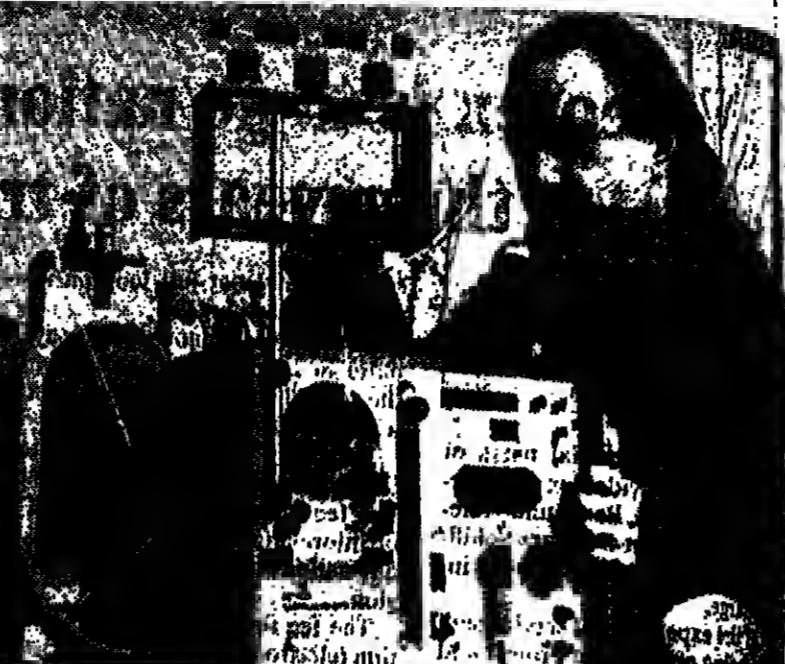
For another it will recycle use as biomass nitrogen compounds and phosphates, an excess of which is using up oxygen and causing the biological death of rivers and waterways.

Similar experiments are in progress in Scandinavia, some in shallow coastal waters. Drawbacks that were feared have failed to materialise.

The algae, it was feared, would be enriched in heavy metals, but these heavy metals have been found to be returned to the sewage sludge during an earlier stage of purification.

The algae output from the sewage tanks can be used either as agricultural fertiliser or converted into biogas by means of bacteria.

The Bonn Research Ministry has invested DM500,000 in the Kiel trials over the past three years. Large-scale



Mobile pollution sleuth

This mobile gas tester made in Heidelberg is a pollution sleuth used in the Republic of Germany to check atmospheric and water pollution. It ensures consistent results, it can run at least six hours on a battery. Samples are taken automatically, including measurements of *Die Zeit*.

(Photo: Dieter Fassnacht)

trials may one day be undertaken off the Baltic coast.

North Sea water has a much higher salt count, but if it were sufficiently diluted by a nutrient mixture from the Baltic the algae might serve their purpose in the North Sea too.

Schramm and Lehnerberg plan to try out their technique in the Philippines as well. Temperatures are ideal there, so the algae output should be substantial.

Red algae, or *furcellaria*, could also be put to good use in effluent; they

claim. This category of algae is the stuff that is used to thicken numerous objectives and a watchdog for blancmange powder and production procedures. He is known as

But natural sources of red algae are no longer sufficient. To meet demand, and a suitable plea for help addressed to the *Bundeswehr*, Rev. Fassnacht says he himself had been put under pressure by a *Bundeswehr* doctor in a manner very similar to that described in his letter.

The logic behind it is totally paradoxical because Bull is himself subject to professional secrecy and was appointed to his post by the *Bundestag* with the express task of safeguarding personal data from abuse.

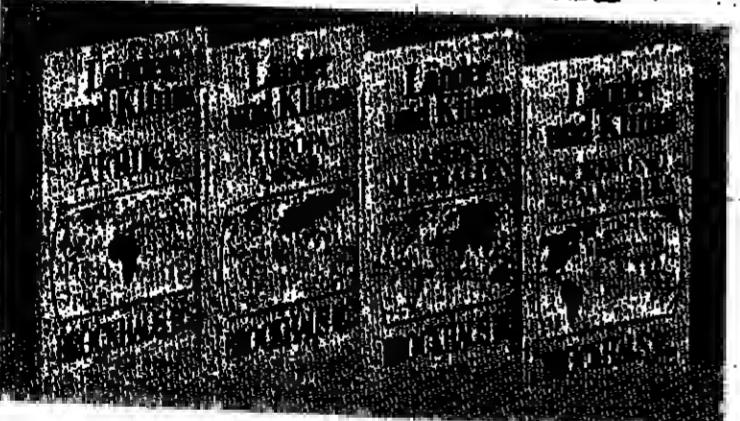
The institute argued that they could not give him access to the data bank without express permission from the persons on file.

What it all amounts to is that the institute's hypocritical emphasis on medical secrecy undermines this very secrecy.

Yet Bull's visit to the institute was not totally futile because it brought what the commissioner with his usual understatement called an annoying incident to light.

Back in 1980, a draftee who was discharged on medical grounds complained that his medical records were kept on file at the institute although he no longer had anything to do with the *Bundeswehr*.

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in sea-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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■ THE SCREEN

Germany's answer to Holocaust

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Holocaust, the American TV film about a Jewish family under the Nazis, has twice been screened nationwide in Germany.

One of the many questions it prompted was why it had taken an American film to deal, for German viewers, with the extermination of the Jews in the Third Reich.

Put this way it is an unfair question, since footage about Hitler and what he entailed that has been shown on TV in Germany would fill entire archives.

Yet nothing has so appealed to the emotions and so gripped viewers as Holocaust, fictionalised as the tale of a family the viewer could identify with.

The secret of its appeal is that in seeing how the Weiss family suffers, Holocaust viewers can imagine they might have been the victims instead.

The Oppermanns, shown nationwide on 6 and 7 February, can fairly be said to be Germany's answer to Holocaust.

As a media event the two-part film based on the novel by Lion Feuchtwanger likewise assumed American proportions.

It was shown simultaneously on TV in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Sweden, Britain and Ireland and by three US stations.

Other broadcasting corporations to feature the film will be those of Israel, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Canada and Iceland.

The Oppermanns deserves such a wide showing, and unlike Holocaust it cannot be described as soap opera.

The only point it has in common is the basic pattern, being a family drama with which viewers can identify.

The Oppermanns goes on to be much more detailed than Holocaust. Instead of depicting an entire era, it concentrates on a single question:

How could Germans who deeply detested Hitler quietly and idly stand by and look on as he seized power?

In time-span The Oppermanns is limited. It covers a six-month period from November 1932 to April 1933.

Continued from page 11

to bring out its big guns because of the likelihood that the problems will mount in the months to come.

A host nation support agreement concluded last spring between Germany and the United States provides for a trebling of US ammunition dumps, says Linden.

Another point that worries the union is the repeated burglaries at Allied installations. In December 1981, for instance, some 100 kilos of explosives were stolen from an American depot.

The Federal Prosecutor's Office attributed the theft to terrorist circles; the gun that killed Hesse Economic Affairs Minister Heinz Herbert Karry was also



An SA man, played by Herbert Chwolka, tries to stop Martin Oppermann, played by Wolfgang Kieling, from entering the family's furniture store in Egon Monk's TV film *The Oppermanns*.

(Photo: ZDF)

Since Feuchtwanger's novel was written in 1933 much authentic contemporary atmosphere is included that is missing from Holocaust.

The Oppermanns own a Berlin furniture store. They are well-to-do middle-class people who have been hit by the Depression but not had to limit their family the viewer could identify with.

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Continued from page 11

stolen from the US ammunition depot in Butzbach.

The ÖTV regards these installations as a "security risk and self-service station for terrorists and criminals." Pentagon officials are clearly aware of the security problems involved.

Richard Wagner, an adviser to US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, told an American newspaper that US military installations in Europe that have nuclear weapons are pretty safe from terrorist attacks but that other security problems and shortcomings were giving him sleepless nights because there was so much at stake.

What happened were things these well-meaning people of 1932 and 1933 could not even imagine, and this is a point viewers would do well to bear in mind.

Eckhard Böhm

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 January 1983)

Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 January 1983

Director star at Würzburg

It is amazing how personal commitment have enabled the Würzburg film group to make the international film weekend a success.

A loosely knit group of private duels, the Würzburg film festival features two major international film stars.

Opinion was the keynote in a paper Robert Jarvik, the inventor of the first artificial heart permanently implanted in a human, read at a symposium in a perfect blend of science and communication.

Their film is neither a present nor a award, and only patient to be fitted with but to stimulate debate and discussion, Dr Rohmer, the festival organiser, said.

Despite these problems he said it would be wrong to wait until everything was perfect. "We must carry on and learn," he said.

The Aachen symposium indicated that current research emphasis lies on the development of much more simple auxiliary pumps intended to relieve the heart ventricles for a few days or weeks at a time to give the organ a chance to recover following serious surgery or illness.

Research on such "piggyback hearts" is now in progress, particularly in the United States and Japan.

In the Federal Republic of Germany animal experiments have progressed well, especially in Aachen and Berlin, though the devices have not yet been used on people.

The Salt Lake City research team, headed by Professor W. Kolff, has long rejected the piggyback heart in favour of a complete artificial heart.

While the complete artificial heart needs two pumps and four connecting tubes the piggyback heart needs only one pump. This can be implanted with or without the power unit. But there are also models that operate outside the body.

The auxiliary pump bypasses the left or right ventricle. The blood is channelled from the left atrium (from which the blood would normally flow into the left ventricle) to the pump which pumps it into the aorta.

The auxiliary pump can best be described as half a complete artificial heart.

These auxiliary pumps are now primarily used in open heart surgery, especially in bypass operations.

In this kind of surgery, the heart is temporarily put out of action while a heart-lung machine takes care of blood circulation.

Once the surgery has been completed, the heart usually resumes its function quite fast. But its performance can be so weak as to make it impossible to unhook the patient from the heart-lung machine.

Since the heart-lung machine should be switched off as early as possible to prevent damage to the blood cells and permit the discontinuation of anti-coagulants, surgeons initially tried to improve the circulation by means of a balloon inserted in the aorta.

The balloon, controlled by electric currents generated by the heart, inflates rhythmically and thus improves the blood supply to the heart.

Continued from page 12

MEDICINE

Aachen congress reviews international advances in cardiac surgery

Bleeding was triggered by the use of anti-coagulants to prevent blood clotting in the artificial tubing and the plastic heart itself.

Dr Jarvik feels this is only called for in implantations of artificial heart valves in otherwise healthy heart and not for implants of complete artificial hearts.

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Continued from page 12

But neither this nor medication can be successful in all cases. This is when auxiliary pumps can prove to be life-savers. They provide the heart with relief and enable it to recover.

It appears that the self-healing capability of the heart muscle has been underestimated. As with other organs, the heart muscle can sustain tissue damage such as oedemas that clear up themselves given time.

In the end, the heart muscle can even manage to restore tissue wasted away during the illness, but this process takes days rather than hours.

Professor Pierce of Pennsylvania University in Hershey read a most remarkable paper at the Aachen symposium.

Over the past four years he has treated 14 patients with an auxiliary heart with an integrated, implanted power unit. Seven survived and made a good recovery, compared with earlier experiments where the success rate was nine per cent.

The results show that what matters is to implant the auxiliary heart in good time. Most patients do not die of heart failure but of complications, primarily haemorrhaging due to the surgery itself or excessively intensive therapy measures.

Japan also has experience with auxiliary hearts. Professor Atsumi of Tokyo University, working in close cooperation with industry, has developed a piggyback heart that is likely to be marketed soon.

Impressive perfection

The participants in the Aachen symposium were impressed by the perfection of the Japanese system, which seems to be fully developed.

Should it prove its worth in clinical use, other models will find it hard to catch up with the Japanese.

The piggyback heart has a future due to its versatility, it is suitable not only for heart damage due to surgery but also as a relief for the heart following acute disorders, especially infarction.

The piggyback heart can also give surgeons the necessary time they need to find a suitable heart donor for a transplant.

Experts are generally optimistic regarding the prospects of the piggyback heart.

At the moment not more than 1,000 such devices are expected to be used in the USA and Japan following heart surgery. But testing of the devices must first be completed.

This and the further development of the artificial heart will depend on the US supervisory organisations for such experiments.

Professor B. J. Messmer, a heart surgeon who chaired the symposium, could well prove right. He suggested that first unfavourable impressions at the beginning of a new development are frequently proved wrong.

But this refers only to the technical problems, not the moral issues involved. Professor Messmer said that the fact that nobody at the Aachen symposium denied the great success of the Salt Lake City experiment could well be because surgeons who opposed it did not attend in the first place.

Rainer Flöhl

Ulf Meyer
Saarbrücker Zeitung, 4 February 1983

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 February 1983

Continued on page 19

■ MODERN LIVING

Raw deal for fair sex in picture books

The effects picture books have on children cannot be overestimated. For from just entertaining, they also convey cultural and other information, thus widening the child's horizon at pre-school age.

This type of book is seen as the most important element of making a child part of society.

It has a major impact on the child's formative phase, between the ages of five and seven, by conveying ideas on the attitudes of men and women, thus becoming decisive for the child's own development.

Cornelia Hagemann of Bonn teacher training college has analysed 112 of the most widely-read picture books in the city's kindergartens in a book.

It is entitled *Bilderbücher als Sozialisationsfaktoren im Bereich der Geschlechterrollendifferenzierung*, or Picture Books as Social Factors in Determining Sex Roles, and published by Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt and Bern.

More than half the books under review are more than ten years old; but since they rank among the most widely read it can safely be assumed that they also have the greatest impact.

Some of these older books have been reprinted due to their popularity, among them *Der glückliche Löwe* (The Happy Lion) and *Die Pimpelmus*.

Books published between 1967 and 1971 are particularly popular with the children. In 1970, 34 per cent of all children's books were picture books.

Two-thirds of the books reviewed came from German-speaking countries, ten per cent from the USA, while Britain and the Scandinavian countries accounted for six per cent each.

Thirty-nine per cent were of a fantasy nature while 17 per cent dealt with reality. Eleven per cent were fairy tales, while "several images with a story" accounted for one-sixth.

Books illustrated with photographs accounted for less than ten per cent and those containing factual information for 3.4 per cent.

Of the 3,211 depicted figures, just under 70 per cent were people, 27.5 per cent were animals and 3.4 per cent fable creatures. About three-quarters were adults and one-quarter children. Females were under-represented in

all categories though more so in the depiction of adults where the ratio was two to one. In the depiction of children there were four boys for every three girls.

This disproportion in the depiction of the sexes was evident in the titles as well. Almost half the titles mentioned men while only six per cent had women in them.

This not only means that picture books confront toddlers with a male-dominated world in which the woman plays a secondary role.

It also means that girls are given less of an opportunity to identify themselves with the depicted figures.

This is the more important considering that children aged between four and five like to imitate models of the same sex.

Girls are led to believe that women are worth less than men, which can lead to a negative attitude towards themselves.

The fact that girls are later in arriving at a clearly sex-related attitude than boys must largely be blamed on picture books.

The author has analysed 5,017 pictorial depictions of the activities of male and female characters in the books.

Here, too, the books prove to be unrepresentative: 18 per cent of the men against four per cent of the women are shown pursuing an occupation.

Females are depicted in the traditional service sectors such as housework, farm work, retailing and teaching.

The men are shown as guardians of public order (police officers, soldiers, firemen) or as stallholders and construction workers, occupations that are particularly catchy when illustrated.

Not a single woman is shown driving a car, going for walks and just resting are shown as the main leisure time pursuits of women.

If the books are anything to go by, no woman has ever heard about sporting activities.

Men are frequently shown as do-it-yourselfers and boys playing ball and other games while the girls are depicted doing needlework and household chores.

The books show 1,281 male characters engaged in "activities" compared with 545 females.

This confirms the theory in the children's minds that men are active and women passive.

Another focal point of the report is the analysis of the position of girls and young women, who are said to be active in youth protest movements as are young men.

Though discrimination against the female sex in education has largely been eliminated, girls still find it very difficult to obtain sound vocational training and a subsequent job.

Frequently, women are depicted as being peripheral to the main activity or as mere bystanders.

What this conveys to the children is that women shirk work that calls for physical strength or competence.

Gerda Neumann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 February 1983)

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Bundestag report looks prospects for the young

Frankfurter
Neue Presse

Youth protest is marked by a sense of futility, hopelessness, ranga and denial, says the latest report of the Bundestag commission on youth protest in the democratic state.

The commission, chaired by MP Matthias Wissmann (CDU), was established two years ago. Its report, presented a couple of days ago, recommends a four-pronged attack to overcome the young people's fear of the future.

All social groups and politicians in particular are called upon to redouble their efforts to overcome youth unemployment.

The report particularly stresses that the position of girls and young women in the nation's economic set-up must be improved; that greater efforts must be made to integrate young foreigners and, in a long-term perspective, that more attention must be paid to bringing about a humane society.

The commission calls on all to socially recognise foreign and thus prevent them from moving to the periphery.

The young generation's future the report says, also has to do with the credibility and honesty of good conduct.

Ironically, he was released early by the Nazi movement in Germany.

In the weeks and months ahead we

will be organising at a pace unprecedented in the Federal Republic of Germany," say Kühnen and his two new men.

They are Thomas Brehl, ex-group leader of the Wehrsportgruppe Fulda, and Heinz Marx, a former NCO of Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann.

Politicians are urged to include in their legislative work that the National Socialists should also adopt a code of honour that has already been done.

In mid-January meeting, held in the room of the Wienerwald barbecue restaurant in Niederrad, a suburb of Frankfurt, is worth closer study.

It would be too easy to dismiss the 50 young neo-Nazis who pledged themselves to fight society and the state uncompromisingly as figures of fun.

Kühnen, Brehl and Marx have clear ideas on how they plan to put their political plans.

The gathering began by passing a Plakat Appeal calling on all national socialist revolutionary forces to join a new cadre organisation of National Socialism.

The new party is the Action Front of National Socialists/National Activists (ANS/NA).

Kühnen then made it clear in conversation that to begin with the ANS/NA had to unite neo-Nazi splinter groups all over the country.

Such appeals are nothing new among wing extremists and have so far been unduly effective, but this time, for Kühnen, it could be another matter.

His chances of emerging as the leader of the neo-Nazi movement have been threatened because at present he virtually has a free hand.

Other possible leaders, such as Friedhelm Böck of the People's Socialist Movement, Manfred Roeder of the German Citizens' Initiative and Karl-Heinz Hoffmann of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann, are either in prison or underground and abroad.

Many neo-Nazi groups are thus without a Führer and will doubtless be

and help for women when they resume work after child-rearing.

The report also deals at length with the position of young foreigners. Since one in three is Turkish, emphasis must be placed on the integration of Turkish boys and girls into the German school system, it concludes.

The report concedes that language barrier poses certain difficulties.

In addition to what I said in the interview, he wrote, "I can assure you that upon my release I shall be reorganised.

Integration of the National Socialist Action Front, in the old spirit but in new ways I make it a political factor to be continued with."

As he sees it, his personal progress has been identical with that of the neo-Nazi movement. He plans to make sure this continues to be the case.

His struggle, he claims, is identical with the liberation struggle of the German people.

In age and appearance he is most clearly representative of the neo-Nazi scene, which is primarily a youth scene; so that leaves Kühnen, who is still in his mid-20s, in a virtually unassassable position.

He has the authority to be able to call on his audience to set aside their pseudo-Führers, and he earns applause with the following statement:

"Orders can only be given by someone who was first prepared to serve time in jail and to do himself what he demands of his comrades."

There can be no doubt that in this case the cap fits.

Kühnen is also astute enough to forge irrational ties between himself and his supporters, saying he was only able to stand his prison term because he knew there were comrades outside who like him were irreversibly committed to the idea.

He refers to the stages through which the movement will have to pass, to strategic and tactical goals, to setting up an infrastructure and to establishing a National Socialist counter-culture.

He is not fool enough just to set up a new political party that could easily be banned.

EXTREMISM

Neo-Nazis reorganise in Frankfurt

ready to follow any lead given by a new strongman.

There can be no doubt that Michael Kühnen comes closest to embodying this authoritarian ideal of the strongman in the neo-Nazi scene.

A four-year prison term has given him the kudos of being a political martyr among right-wingers, and he is busy adding the finishing touches to his legend.

As he sees it, his personal progress has been identical with that of the neo-Nazi movement. He plans to make sure this continues to be the case.

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Neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen at a demonstration in Mainz (Photo: dpa)

The National Socialist Action Front and the National Activist Comradeship Leagues will work alongside each other, albeit in close collaboration.

The Nazi symbols of old will play an increasingly unimportant part. Kühnen has no need of the swastika. His movement has symbols of its own.

The raised arm of the Nazi salute has long since been replaced by the V-sign. So the law will find it harder to bring him to book on formal grounds.

Legal provisions to free the German people from nationalism and militarism formed part of the Potsdam Agreement in 1945 and were included in Paragraph 139 of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

One wonders whether the time has not come to enforce them more strictly.

Dirk Gerhard
(Vorwärts, 3 February 1983)

Butcher of Lyon is extradited

Klaus Barbie

(Photo: dpa)
countries, you cannot be sentenced twice for the same offence.

This time he will be charged with crimes against humanity, but there is no much evidence against him, including evidence available from the Federal Republic of Germany, that he seems aware of a life sentence.

It looks as though Barbie, who is now about 70, owes his extradition to overweening pride.

He is assumed to have made his getaway at the end of the war using a Red Cross passport. In Bolivia he soon made himself useful to the authorities as a security expert.

He became an influential figure and a rich man and there were always Bolivian officials willing to give him cover when extradition applications were served from Europe.

Where he made his mistake was in competing with his patrons in the international narcotics trade.

A change of regime in Bolivia made it easy for the authorities to recall that their Klaus Altmann was in fact Klaus Barbie, a wanted man in several European countries.

The new regime in La Paz handed him over to the French as a gesture of good will in a bid to establish cordial relations with Paris.

His trial will not be an act of vengeance, but the court case against a man who was one of the worst Nazi scourges of France should prove the ultimate war crime trial.

It will provide an opportunity to come to terms with the past once and for all, which needs doing in France too, and not just in Germany.

There is definite evidence that Barbie has visited Paris as a businessman on several occasions since the war and had no trouble with the police.

Mari van Dijk
(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 February 1983)